

Saleday.

Notwithstanding the rains, there was a large crowd present on Monday last. The crowd was pretty orderly until late in the evening, when it became right jolly. The candidates were out in full force, doing active service.

The Weather.

Within the last few days copious showers have fallen in this vicinity, and from appearances, we suppose the rains have been general. Up to this time, some neighborhoods in the county were in much need of rain.

North Carolina Election.

The latest dispatch from Charlotte, N. C., dated August 6, leaves the gubernatorial election in considerable doubt. Both parties claim the election; therefore we infer that the contest has been very close. The Liberals and Democrats have elected a majority of Congressmen and two-thirds of the Legislature.

Mr. Sumner's Letter.

To the exclusion of other matter we publish in this issue the letter of Hon. Charles Sumner to colored men who had asked his counsel in reference to the candidates for the Presidency. He answers them fully, freely and frankly, avowing his preference for Mr. Greeley, and shows the colored man that he is more their friend than President Grant has been or will be in the future. Mr. Sumner has always advocated the freedom and rights of the colored man, and we can but hope they will heed his wise counsel now.

Political Meeting at Belton.

We are informed that the Republican meeting at Belton on the 31st was rather slimly attended, considering that it had been announced several weeks in advance. Speeches were made by Judge Orr, Capt. Earle, Congressman Elliott, and others. The burden of the speeches was the great necessity for the re-election of President Grant, because of his efficiency in putting down Ku Kluxism. Some of the speakers were severe in their denunciation of the ring, the fraud and corruption of State officials, &c. We trust these will continue their castigation of the party until they shall have been driven from place and power. Let them keep up the fire, and prove their faith by their works. We understand that whiskey was affoot to some extent.

The Saluda Association.

We presume it is generally known that this religious body will celebrate its 70th anniversary with the Baptist Church at this place, commencing on Thursday morning, the 8th inst., and continuing certainly over the ensuing Sunday. We understand ample preparations have been made for the accommodation of delegates, ministers and visitors, and it is expected a very large concourse of citizens from the surrounding country will be present. A stand has been erected in a grove some three or four hundred yards from the Church, in the midst of the most comfortable surroundings of water and shade, at which the public preaching of the occasion will be conducted generally, whilst the House is occupied by the representatives of the churches in counsel. It is expected that the occasion will be a most interesting one, and this community will be delighted to see its friends from the whole surrounding country present.

Public Meeting on Saleday.

On Monday last there was a large and interesting public meeting held in the Court House, the object of which is best stated by the resolutions published in this issue. It was not our fortune to be present, but understand that considerable interest was manifested in the object of the meeting. Hon. J. P. Reed made one of his rousing speeches, and those who heard him speak of his effort in highest terms. The resolutions provide for a call of a State Convention on the 28th inst., to be held in Columbia just one week after the Republican Convention. Present indications point to a split in the Republican Convention; and for the sake of honest government it is sincerely hoped that there will be enough honesty in the Republican Convention of the 21st, to stem the current of misrule and corruption, and nominate men who are decent, honest and capable. Should it do so, then the Democratic Convention of the 28th will add its hearty amen, and by its voice and votes assist true Republicans in reforming the State, and giving to the people true Republican form of government—a government in which both white and colored men, and their children after them, will feel secure in their life, liberty and property. The Democratic party is organizing—not for the purpose of mere opposition, but that it may husband its strength for the coming contest, and that it may throw its whole weight in favor of reform. Its present motto is—

"To catch the manners living as they rise,
And to shoot folly as it flies."

A correspondent of the Beaufort Republican giving an account of a meeting at Lawtonville in that county gives the following report of the sparring between two of the principal speakers:

Whipper then took the stand. He proceeded to point out the fact that Senator Smalls had voted for every administration measure, and that he was now going back on the Columbia ring merely for political purposes. He charged him with being corrupt, and added that the whole delegation was equally so. The validating bill, the Blue Ridge swindle, etc., had received the vote of every one except himself. He wound up by a defence of Northern men, asserting that he was proud of having been born a freeman.

N. B. Myers then took the platform and made a telling speech. He raked up many damaging charges against Whipper. Said that he had swindled the State in connection with the Land Commission, the Sinking Fund, and in the Legislative expenses. He asserted that he could prove by witness present that Attorney General Chamberlain had paid Whipper five thousand dollars to be left out of the impeachment resolutions. Upon being requested to show his witnesses he rather weakened, but persisted in asserting the truth of the charge from his own knowledge.

A Memphis boarding house mistress seized and held the child of a delinquent boarder, as security for a debt of \$10.

Public Meeting.

ANDERSON, S. C., August 5, 1872.

In response to a call published in the Intelligencer of last week, inviting the citizens of Anderson County who are opposed to the administration of the Federal and State Governments, and disposed to unite with the Liberal Republicans and Democrats in the grand effort that is now being made to save the country, a very large meeting, composed chiefly of intelligent farmers, planters and working men, from all parts of the County, was convened in the Court House to-day.

On motion of Col. J. N. Brown, W. H. D. Gaillard, Esq., was called to the Chair, and Messrs. A. R. Broyles and W. A. McFall appointed Secretaries.

On taking the Chair, Mr. Gaillard explained briefly and intelligently that the object of the meeting was to consider the action of the Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati, and the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, and take such measures in relation thereto as might be deemed advisable. Whereupon the following preamble and resolutions were introduced by Hon. J. P. Reed:

WHEREAS, After twelve years of practical disunion between the peoples of the North and the South—four of them spent in a sanguinary conflict of arms, and eight in a conflict of passions and prejudices—under the influence of which the common government at Washington, whilst pretending to reconstruct the Union on the basis of the Constitution, continued, in fact, to wage against a prostrate and ruined South, an unrelenting warfare of tyranny and oppression, depriving her of every means of good government held sacred by free men, AND WHEREAS, by the action of the Liberal Republicans at Cincinnati, and of the Democracy at Baltimore, a National Platform has been erected on which all good men, of all sections, who have the welfare of their country at heart, without regard to race, color, previous condition, or past political affiliation, may stand shoulder to shoulder, heart linked to heart, and grasping hands "across the bloody chasm," unite in one grand effort, laying aside all the bitter memories of the past, and looking steadily to the future, to restore the Federal Union, with its millions of lately enfranchised freedmen, to the condition in which it came from the hands of its illustrious founders, when, in the enjoyment of peace and good will, "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" may be effectually guaranteed to all its inhabitants; AND WHEREAS, whilst our fellow-citizens of every other State in the Union are rushing with patriotic enthusiasm to mount the aforesaid platform, and range themselves in line, under the command of those great civilians, Horace Greeley, of New York, and B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, to aid in the coming conflict for the redemption of their country, in which the pass-word will be "peace," and the weapons "truth, justice and the Constitution," it is the sense of this meeting that South Carolina should not longer stand aloof, but that she, too, with an assurance that a redemption of the National Government must work out her political salvation, should claim her "place in the picture," and by her energy and gallantry in the common strife, entitle herself to share with her sisters the glorious fruits of the victory they are hastening to achieve. Be it, therefore,

Resolved, That the Platform adopted by the Liberal Republicans at Cincinnati, and approved by the Democracy at Baltimore, with the candidates placed thereon for President and Vice President of the United States, are cordially accepted and ratified as the Platform and candidates of this meeting; that in the Horace Greeley of to-day, we recognize the Benjamin Franklin of '76, and with the measure that we revere Franklin as one of the fathers of the American Union, we hope henceforward to regard Greeley as its restorer and preserver, not in theory merely, but in fact, in the "hearts of his countrymen."

Resolved, That whilst the colored voters, who are in large majority, remain confined in the toils of the carpet-bagger, the prospect of carrying this State for the Liberal candidates may seem a forlorn one, we recognize the duty resting upon us to make the effort, and are not without hope that the reformation which has commenced to sweep the country may include even unfortunate South Carolina; but whether or not, we utterly repudiate the idea so frequently urged, that we should take no interest in the pending National conflict for fear of prejudicing our local interests. We are satisfied that the redemption of the State from the hands of its spoilers, is dependent, in a great measure, on the restoration of the Federal Government to civil supremacy under the Constitution and laws, and that by aiding in the election of the Liberal—Democratic—Republican—candidates for President and Vice President, we adopt the only available means for the restoration of our own commonwealth.

Resolved, That it is the sense of this meeting that an organization of the friends of the Liberal candidates for President and Vice President should be effected as early as practicable, and to this end we respectfully call upon our fellow-citizens in the several Counties of this State, who concur with us in opinion, to assemble on the earliest practicable day, and arrange for the appointment of a number of delegates equal to the number of their representatives in the Legislature, to meet in Columbia on Wednesday, the 28th August inst., for the purpose of organizing for the Presidential election, and considering what action should be taken in regard to the State elections.

Resolved, That the citizens of the respective Townships in this County, who concur in the objects of this meeting, be requested to hold meetings on Saturday, the 24th August inst., to appoint two delegates from each Township, with one additional from each incorporated Town, to meet in Convention at the Court House on Monday, the 26th inst., to appoint four delegates and four alternates to represent this County in the proposed meeting in Columbia on Wednesday, the 28th August.

The foregoing preamble and resolutions were announced to the large audience with great distinctness, and after a very full explanation and discussion by the mover in his usual clear, forcible and eloquent style, were adopted unanimously, except that two or three dissenting voices were heard from toward the colored side of the house. On motion, it was

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Anderson Intelligencer, and that the other Liberal and Democratic papers in the State be requested to copy.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.

W. H. D. GAILLARD, Chm'n.

A. R. BROYLES, } Secretaries.
W. A. McFALL, }

DEATH OF THE NOTORIOUS CAPT. HAMILTON.—From a private source, we learn of the prevalence of a rumor at Thomson, of the death of the notorious Capt. Hamilton, who will be remembered as the leader of a band of robbers, horse thieves and murderers convicted of their crimes in McDuffie County. At the time of his death, Hamilton was undergoing a sentence to the penitentiary for ten years' hard labor on the Air-Line Railroad.—Augusta Chronicle.

A severe hail storm passed through that portion of Spartanburg County cornering on Greenville and Laurens on last Sunday evening. Some of the stones were as large as guinea eggs, and the damages done to some plantations was immense. A very heavy and washing rain fell in the Northwestern portion of Laurens County on the same evening.

THE BLACK MAN'S FRIEND.

Senator Sumner's Advice to the Colored Voters.

The following is a copy of the letter addressed to Senator Sumner by a number of colored citizens, residents of Washington City, requesting his opinion as to what action the colored voters should take in the present crisis:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 11.
SIR—We, the undersigned, citizens of color, regarding you as the purest and best friend of our race, admiring your consistent course in the United States Senate and elsewhere as the special advocate of our rights, and believing that your counsel at this critical juncture in the period of our citizenship would be free from personal feeling and partisan prejudice, have ventured to request your opinion as to what action the colored voters of the nation should take in the Presidential contest now pending.

The choice of our people is now narrowed down to General Grant or Horace Greeley. Your long acquaintance with both, and your observation, have enabled you to arrive at a correct conclusion as to which of the candidates, judging from their antecedents as well as their present position, will, if elected, enforce the requirements of the constitution and the laws respecting our civil and political rights with the most heartfelt sympathy and the greatest vigor.

We hope and trust you will favor us with such reply as will serve to enlighten our minds upon this subject, and impel our people to go forward in the right direction. Our confidence in your judgment is so firm that, in our opinion, thousands of the intelligent colored voters of the country will be guided in their action by your statement and advice.

Hoping to receive a reply soon, we have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servants: A. T. Augusta, M. D., David Fisher, Sr., John H. Smith, Edward C. Coker, Wm. H. A. Wormley, Wm. P. Wilson, R. V. Tompkins, John H. Brown, Henry Lacey, W. H. Bell, J. L. N. Bowen, M. D., Jacob DeWitt, Samuel Proctor, J. J. Ketchum, Chas. N. Thomas, Wm. H. Shorter, Henry Hill, Turman S. Shadd, Geo. D. Johnson, Chris. A. Fleetwood, Charles F. Bruce, David Fisher, Jr., David King, Wm. Falkeny.

Below we print in full Senator Sumner's answer to the above:

WASHINGTON, July 29, 1872.
Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens: If I have delayed answering your communication of July 11, which was duly placed in my hands by your committee, it is not because the proper course for you seemed doubtful, but because I wished to reflect upon it and be aided by the information which time may supply. Since then I have carefully considered the inquiries on both sides, and my best judgment now is in harmony with my early conclusion.

I am touched by the appeal you make. It is true that I am the friend of your race, and I am glad to be assured that in your opinion I have held a consistent course in the Senate and elsewhere as the special advocate of your rights. That course, by the blessing of God, I mean to hold so long as life lasts. I know your infinite wrongs, and feel for them as my own. You only do me simple justice when you add a belief that my counsel, at this critical juncture of your citizenship, would be free from personal feelings and partisan prejudice. In answering your inquiries, I can have no feeling except for your good, which I most anxiously seek; nor can any prejudice of any kind be allowed to interfere. The occasion is too solemn. Especially is there no room for personal feeling or for partisan prejudice. No man or party can expect power except for the general welfare. Therefore they must be brought to the standard of truth, that they may be seen in life and act.

You are right in saying that the choice for the Presidency is now "narrowed down" to President Grant or Horace Greeley. One of these is to be taken, and assuming my acquaintance with both and my observation of their lives, you invite my judgment between the two, asking me especially which of the two, judging from their antecedents as well as present position, would enforce the constitution and laws securing your civil and political rights with the most heartfelt sympathy and the greatest vigor. Here I remark that, in this inquiry, you naturally put your rights in the foreground. So do I; believing most sincerely that the best interests of the whole country are associated with the complete recognition of your rights, so that the two races shall live together in unbroken harmony. I also remark that you call attention to two things, the "antecedents" of the two candidates; and secondly, the "present position." You wish to know from these which gives assurance of the most heartfelt sympathy and greatest vigor in the maintenance of your rights; in other words, which, judging by the past, will be your truest friend.

The communication with which you have honored me is not alone. Colored fellow-citizens in other parts of the country—I may say in nearly every State of the Union—have made a similar request, and some complain that I have thus far kept silent. I am not insensible to this appeal. But if my opinion is given, it must be candidly according to my conscience. In this spirit I answer your inquiries, beginning with the antecedents of the two candidates.

Horace Greeley was born to poverty, and educated himself in a printing office. President Grant, fortunate in early patronage, became a cadet at West Point, and was educated at the public expense. One started with nothing but industry and character; the other started with a military commission. One was trained as a civilian; the other as a soldier. Horace Greeley stood forth as a reformer and abolitionist. President Grant enlisted as a pro-slavery Democrat, and, at the election of James Buchanan, fortified by his vote all the pretensions of slavery, including the Dred Scott decision. Horace Greeley from early life was earnest and constant against slavery, full of sympathy with the colored race, and always foremost in the great battle for their rights. President Grant, except as a soldier, summoned by the terrible accident of war, never did anything against slavery, nor has he at any time shown any sympathy with the colored race. Horace Greeley earnestly desired that colored citizens should vote, and earnestly championed impartial suffrage; but President Grant was on the other side.

Beyond these contrasts, which are marked, it cannot be forgotten that Horace Greeley is a person of large heart and large conscience, trained to the support of human rights, always beneficent with the poor, always ready for any good cause, and never deterred by opposition or reproach, as when for long years he befriended your people. Add to these qualities, conspicuous in his life, untiring industry, which leaves no moment without its fruit; abundant political knowledge; acquaintance with history; the instinct and grasp of statesmanship; an amiable nature; a magnanimous soul, and, above all, an honesty which no suspicion has touched, and you have a brief portrait of the antecedents of Horace Greeley.

Few of these things appear in the President. His great success in war, and the honors he has won, cannot change the record of his conduct toward your people, especially in contrast with the lifetime fidelity of his competitor, while there are unhappy "antecedents" showing that in the prosecution of his plans he cares nothing for the colored race. The story is painful, but it must be told.

I refer to the outrage he perpetrated upon Hayti with its eight hundred thousand blacks, engaged in the great experiment of self government. Here is a most instructive "antecedent," revealing beyond question his true nature, and the whole is attested by documentary evidence. Conceivably the idea of annexing Dominica, which is the Spanish part of the island, and shrinking at nothing, he began by

seizing the war powers of the government, in flagrant violation of the constitution, and then, at a great expenditure of money, sent several armed ships of the navy, including monitors, to maintain the usurper Baez in power, that through him he might obtain the coveted prize. Not content with this audacious dictatorship, he proceeded to strike at the independence of the Black Republic by open menace of war, and all without the sanction of Congress, to which is committed the war-making power. Sailing into the harbor of Port-au-Prince with our most powerful monitor, the Dictator, properly named for this service, also the frigate Severn as consort, and other monitors in their train, the admiral, acting under instructions from Washington, proceeded to the Executive Mansion, accompanied by officers of his squadron, and then, pointing to the great war ships in sight from the windows, dealt his menace of war, threatening to sink or capture Haitian ships. The president was black, not white. The admiral would have done no such thing to any white ruler, nor would our country have tolerated such menace from any government in the world. Here was indignity, not only to the Black Republic, with its population of eight hundred thousand, but to the African race everywhere, and especially in our own country. We did it end here. For months the navy of the United States was hovering on the coast, keeping that insulted people in constant anxiety, while President Grant was to them like a hawk sailing in the air, and ready to swoop upon his prey.

This heartless, cruel proceeding found a victim among our white fellow-citizens. An excellent merchant of Connecticut, praised by all who knew him, was plunged into prison by Baez, where he was immured because it was feared he would write against the treaty of annexation, and this captivity was prolonged with the connivance of two agents of the President, one of whom finds constant favor with him and is part of the military ring immediately about him. That such an outrage could go unpunished shows the little regard of the President for human rights, whether in white or black.

I confess my trials, as I was called to witness these things. Always a supporter of the administration, and sincerely desiring to labor with it, I had never uttered a word with regard to it except in kindness. My early opposition to the treaty of annexation was resented, so that for some time my opinions were unheeded. It was only when I saw the breach of all law, human and divine, that I was aroused, and then began the anger of the President and of his rings, military and senatorial. Devoted to his race, I felt for them, besides being hampered that the great Republic, acting through its President, could set such an example, where the national constitution, international law and humanity were all sacrificed. Especially was I moved when I saw the indignity to the colored race which was accomplished by tramping upon a fundamental principle of international law, declaring the equality of nations, as our Declaration of Independence declares the equality of men.

This terrible transaction, which nobody can defend, is among the "antecedents" of President Grant, from which you can judge how much the colored race can rely upon his "heartfelt sympathies." Nor can it be forgotten that shortly afterward, on the return of the commission from this island, Hon. Frederick Douglass, the colored orator, accomplished in manners as in eloquence, was thrust away from the company of the commissioners at the common table of the mail packet on the Potomac, almost within sight of the Executive Mansion, simply on account of his color; but the President, at whose invitation he had joined the commission, never uttered a word in condemnation of this exclusion, and when entertaining the colored commissioners at the White House, carefully omitted Mr. Douglass, who was in Washington at the time, and thus repeated the indignity.

Other things might be mentioned, showing the sympathies of the President; but I cannot forget the civil rights bill, which is the capstone of that equality before the law to which all are entitled, without distinction of color. President Grant, who could lobby so assiduously for his St. Domingo scheme, full of wrongs to the colored race, could do nothing for this beneficent measure. During a long session of Congress it was discussed constantly, and the colored people everywhere hung upon the debate; but there was no word of "heartfelt sympathy" from the President. At last, just before the nominating convention, he addressed a letter to a meeting of colored fellow-citizens in Washington, called to advance this cause, where he avoided the question by declaring himself in favor of "the exercise of those rights to which every citizen should be justly entitled," leaving it uncertain whether colored people are justly entitled to the rights secured by the pending bill. I understand that Horace Greeley has been already assailed by an impracticable Democrat as friendly to this bill; but nobody has lapsed against President Grant on this account.

Among "antecedents" I deem it my duty to mention the little capacity or industry of the President in protecting colored people, and in assuring peace at the South. Nobody can doubt that a small portion of the effort and earnest will, even without the lobbying, so freely given to the St. Domingo scheme, would have averted those Ku Klux outrages which we deplore, so that there would have been no pretence for further legislation by Congress. But he was disabled both by character and the drawback of his own conduct. After violating the constitution and international law to insult the Black Republic, and setting an example of insubordination, he was not in condition to rebuke law-breakers.

II. Passing from "antecedents," I come now to the "present position" of the two candidates, which is the subject of your next inquiry. If in any former particulars the two are on an equality, yet in all substantial respects the obvious advantage is with Horace Greeley.

Each was nominated by a Republican convention, one at Cincinnati and the other at Philadelphia, so that in this respect they may seem to be on an equality. But it will not fail to be observed that the convention at Cincinnati was composed of able and acknowledged Republicans, many of whom have acted with the party from its first formation, who, without previous organization, came together voluntarily for the sake of reform and purity in the government; while, on the other hand, the convention at Philadelphia was composed of delegates chosen largely under the influence of office-holders, who assembled to sustain what is known as Grantism, being the personal government and personal pretensions of President Grant, involving nepotism, repayment of gifts by official patronage, neglect of public duty, absenteeism, military rule, disregard of constitution and law, with general unfitness and indignity to the colored race—all of which is so unreplicable as to make its support impossible for true Republicans. Therefore, the convention at Philadelphia, though calling itself Republican, was less Republican in reality than that at Cincinnati.

The two platforms, so far as concerns especially the colored race, are alike in substance, but that of Cincinnati is expressed in terms most worthy of the equal rights it states and contrasts arising between him and Abraham Lincoln. The latter in his first annual message recommended the recognition of what he called the "independence and sovereignty of Hayti," but it is at these that President Grant has struck. One of Abraham Lincoln's first acts was to put the Black Republic on an equality with other powers; one of President Grant's was to degrade it.

I am so much of a Republican that I wish to see in the Presidential chair a life-time Abolitionist. I also wish a President sincerely devoted to civil service reform, beginning with the "one-term principle," which President Grant once accepted but now disowns. I also wish a President who sets the example of industry and unselfish dedication of the public good. And I wish to see a President through

and consistent Republicans, always earnest for reform and purity in government, on whose lives there is no shadow of suspicion—being a contrast in character to those Kings which play such a part in the present Administration.—The country knows too well the Military Ring, the Senatorial Ring, and the Custom House Ring, through which the President acts. Such supporters are a very poor recommendation.

Looking at the popular support behind, the advantage is still with Horace Greeley. President Grant has at his back the diversified army of office-holders, drilled to obey the word of command. The speeches praising him are by office-holders and members of rings. Horace Greeley finds flocking to his support large numbers of Republicans unwilling to continue the existing misrule, and as allies with them a regenerated party which comes forward to unite in the Liberal movement. Democrats in joining Horace Greeley have changed simply as President Grant changed when he joined the Democrats, except that he was regarded at once with high office. The change is open. Adopting the Republican platform which places the equal rights of all under the safeguard of irreversible guarantees, and at the same time accepting the nomination of a life-time abolitionist, who represents pre-eminently the sentiment of duty to the colored race, they have set their corporate seal to the sacred covenant. They may continue Democrats in name, but they are in reality Republicans, by the same title that those who sustain Republican principles are Republicans, or rather they are Democrats, according to the original signification of that word, dedicated to the rights of the people.

It is idle to say that Horace Greeley and the Republicans that nominated him are any less Republicans because Democrats unite with them in support of cherished principles and the candidate who represents them. Conversions are always welcome, and not less so because the change is a multitude rather than an individual. A political party cannot, if it would, and should not if it could, shut the door against converts, whether counted by the score, the hundred, or the thousand; and so we find that the supporters of Grant announce the adoption of the Democratic party, with partisan triumph the adhesion of a single Democratic politician or a single Democratic newspaper. On equal reason and with higher pride may the supporters of Horace Greeley announce the adhesion of the Democratic party, which, turning from the things that are behind, presses on to those that are before.

It is also idle to say that the election of Horace Greeley as President, with Gratz Brown as Vice President—both unchangeable Republicans—will be the return of the Democratic party to power. On the contrary, it will be the inauguration of Republican principles, under the safeguard of a Republican President and Republican Vice President, with Democrats as avowed supporters. In the organization of his administration and in the conduct of affairs Horace Greeley will naturally lean upon those who represent best the great promises made of equal rights and reconciliation at Cincinnati. If Democrats are taken, it will be as Republicans in heart, recognizing the associate terms of the settlement as an irreversible finality.

The hardihood of political falsehood reaches its extreme point when it is asserted that under Horace Greeley the freedmen will be reenslaved, or that colored people will in any way suffer in their equal rights. On the contrary, they have in his election not only the promises of the platform, but also the splendid example for a full generation, during which he has never wavered in the assertion of their rights. To suppose that Horace Greeley, when placed where he can do them the most good, will depart from the rule of his honest life is an insult to reason.

It is none the less idle to suppose that Democrats supporting Horace Greeley expect or desire that he should depart from those principles which are the glory of his character.—They have accepted the Cincinnati platform with its two-fold promises, and intend in good faith to maintain it. Democrats cannot turn back, who at the convention adopting this platform, sang Greeley songs to the tune of "Old John Brown, his soul is marching on." Seeking especially the establishment of character in the National Government, they will expect their President to be always true to himself.

Therefore I put aside the partisan allegations that Horace Greeley has gone to the Democrats, or that he will be controlled by Democrats. Each is without foundation or reason, according to my judgment. They are attempts to avoid what you recognize as the true issue, being the question between the two candidates, or, perhaps, they may be considered as scare-crows, to deter the timid. Nobody who votes for Horace Greeley will go to the Democrats, nor do I believe that, while elected, Horace Greeley will be under any influence except that enlightened conscience which will keep him ever true to the principles he represents.

Gentlemen, in thus answering your two inquiries, I have shown why you, as colored fellow-citizens, and also all who would uphold your rights and save the colored race from indignity, should refuse to sanction the re-election of the President, and put your trust in Horace Greeley. I ought to add that with him will be associated, as Vice President, Gratz Brown, whom I have known for years as a most determined abolitionist. The two together will carry into the National Government an unwavering devotion to your rights, not to be disturbed by partisan dictation or sectional prejudice.

Besides all this, which may fitly guide you in determining between the two candidates, it is my duty to remind you that, as citizens of the United States, and part of the country, your welfare is indissolubly associated with that of the whole country. Where all are prosperous you will be gainers. Therefore, while justly careful of your own rights, you cannot be indifferent to the blessing of good government. It is for you to consider whether the time has not come for something better than the sword, and whether a character like Horace Greeley does not give stronger assurance of good government that can be found in the insulter of the colored race, already famous from the rings about him and his plain inaptitude for civil life. The supporters of President Grant compel us to observe his offences and shortcomings. The comparison they challenge cannot be declined. It will be for others in the present canvass to hold it before the American people.

Speaking now for myself, I have to say that my vote will be given for Horace Greeley; but, in giving it, I do not go to the Democratic party, nor am I any less a Republican. On the contrary, I am so much of a Republican that I cannot support a candidate whose conduct in civil life shows an incapacity to appreciate Republican principles, and whose administration is marked by acts of delinquency, especially toward the colored race, by the side of which the allegations on the impeachment of Andrew Johnson were technical and trivial. Unquestionably President Grant deserved impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors rather than a re-nomination, and on the trial it would have been enough to exhibit his seizure of the war power and his indignity to the Black Republic, with its population of eight hundred thousand, in violation of the National Constitution and of international law. And here a contrast arises between him and Abraham Lincoln. The latter in his first annual message recommended the recognition of what he called the "independence and sovereignty of Hayti," but it is at these that President Grant has struck. One of Abraham Lincoln's first acts was to put the Black Republic on an equality with other powers; one of President Grant's was to degrade it.

I am so much of a Republican that I wish to see in the Presidential chair a life-time Abolitionist. I also wish a President sincerely devoted to civil service reform, beginning with the "one-term principle," which President Grant once accepted but now disowns. I also wish a President who sets the example of industry and unselfish dedication of the public good. And I wish to see a President through

whom we may expect peace and harmony instead of discord. Strangely President Grant seems to delight in strife. If he finds no enemy, he falls upon his friends, as when he struck at the Black Republic, insulted Russia in his annual message, offended both France and Germany, and then, in personal relations, quarrelled generally.

My own personal experience teaches how futile is the charge that because Horace Greeley receives Democratic votes, therefore he becomes a Democrat, or lapses under Democratic control. I was first chosen to the Senate by a coalition of Free Soilers and Democrats.—Democratic votes helped make me Senator from Massachusetts, as they also helped make my excellent friend, Mr. Chase, Senator from Ohio, and will help make Horace Greeley President. But neither Mr. Chase nor myself was on this account less faithful as Free Soiler, and, answering for myself, I know that I never became a Democrat, nor did I ever desert Democratic control. I do not doubt that Horace Greeley will be equally consistent. The charge to the contrary, so vehemently repeated, seems to reflect the character of those who make it, except that many repeat it by rote.

There is a common saying, "Principles, not men," and on this ground an appeal is made for President Grant, feeling justly that, in any personal comparison with Horace Greeley, he must fall. But a better saying is "Principles and men." I am for the principles of the Republican party in contradistinction to Grantism, and I am for the man who truly represents them. By these principles I shall stand, for them I shall labor, and in their triumph I always rejoice. If any valued friend separates from me now, it will be because he places a man above principles. Early in public life I declared very little heed for party, and my indifference to the name by which I am called; and now I confess my want of sympathy with those who would cling to the form after its spirit has fled.

Allow me to call attention to another and controlling consideration, which cannot be neglected by the good citizen. Watching the remarkable movement that has ended in the double nomination of Horace Greeley, it is easy to see that it did not proceed from politicians, whether at Cincinnati or Baltimore. Evidently it was the heart of the people, sorely wrung by war and the controversies it engendered, which found this expression. Sir Philip Sidney said of the uprising in the Netherlands, "It is the spirit of the Lord, and is irresistible," and such a spirit is manifest now. Notwithstanding the countervailing influence of politicians, Republicans and Democrats—in the face of persistent ridicule—and against the extravagant opposition of unscrupulous opposition, the nomination at Cincinnati was triumphantly adopted at Baltimore. Such an unprecedented victory without concert or propulsion of any kind can be explained only by supposing that it is in harmony with a popular longing. That Democrats, and especially those of the South, should adopt a life-time Abolitionist for President, is an assurance of willingness to associate the rights of their colored fellow-citizens with that reconciliation of which Horace Greeley was an early representative. In standing by Jefferson Davis at his trial and signing his bail-bond, he showed the same disregard of humanity he so constantly displayed in standing by the colored race throughout their prolonged trial, so that the two discordant races find kindred hospitality in him, and he thus becomes a tie of union.

The nomination has been adopted by the Democrats in convention assembled. This was an event which the supporters of President Grant declared impossible. I do not see how it can be regarded otherwise than as a peace-offering. As such it is of infinite value. It is a revolution, and its success in pacifying the country will be in proportion to its acceptance by us. I dare not neglect the great opportunity, nor can I stand aloof. It is in harmony with my life which places peace above all things except the rights of men. Thus far, in constant efforts for the colored race, I have sincerely sought the good of all, which I was sure would be best obtained in fulfilling the promises of the Declaration of Independence, making all equal in rights. The spirit in which I acted appears in an early speech where I said: "Nothing in hate; nothing in vengeance." Never have I asked for punishment. Most anxiously I have looked for the time, which seems now at hand, when there should be reconciliation, not only between the North and South, but between the two races, so that the two sections and the two races may be lifted from the ruins and grooves in which they are now fastened, and instead of irritating antagonism without end, there shall be sympathetic co-operation.

The existing differences ought to be ended. There is a time for all things, and we are admonished by a widespread popular uprising, bursting the bonds of party, that the time has come for estrangement to cease between people, who, by the ordinance of God, must live together. Gladly do I welcome the happy signs; nor can I observe without regret the colored people in organized masses resisting the friendly overtures, even to the extent of intimidating those who are the other way. It is for them to consider carefully whether they should not take advantage of the unexpected opening and recognize the bail-bond given at Baltimore as the assurance of peace, holding the parties to the full performance of its conditions. Provided always that their rights are fixed, I am sure it cannot be best for the colored people to band together in a hostile camp, provoking antagonism and keeping alive the separation of races. Above all, there must be no intimidation, no constraint from league or lodge. Much better will it be when the two political parties compete for your votes, each anxious for your support. Only then will that citizenship, by which you are entitled to the equal rights of all, have its natural fruits. Only then will there be that harmony which is essential to a true civilization.

The present position of the colored citizen is perilous. He is exposed to injurious pressure when he needs support. But I see no early extrication except in the way proposed. Let him cut adrift from managers who would wield him merely as a political force, with little regard to his own good, and bravely stand by the candidate who has stood by him. If Democrats unite with him, so much the better. The association once begun must naturally ripen in common friendship and trust.

I am for peace in reality as in name. From the bottom of my heart I am for peace, and I welcome all that makes for peace. With deep satisfaction I remember that no citizen who drew his sword against us has suffered by the hand of the executioner. In just association with his humanity will be the triumph of equal rights when the promises of the great declaration are all fulfilled, and our people are united, as never before, in the enduring fellowship of a common citizenship. To this end there must be reconciliation, nor can I withhold my hand. Freely I accept the hand that is offered, and reach forth my own in friendly grasp. I am against the policy of hate; I am against fanatical ancient flames into continual life; I am against raking in the ashes of the past for coals of fire yet burning. Pile up the ashes; extinguish the flames; abolish the hate—such is my desire. And now, turning to the Democratic party, I hold it to all the covenants solemnly given in the adoption of a Republican platform with Horace Greeley as candidate. There can be no backward step.

With no common sympathy I have observed that Mr. Hendricks, a leading Democrat, whom I knew and esteemed in the